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CBS REPORTS:

SHANGHAI

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THIS IS RECYCLED PAPER

First light in Shanghai, near dawn.

This is the way it began, near the dawn of history. Boats, heavy with cargo, seeking a safe port and a steady customer.

Last summer, a CBS NEWS team was here to film this sunrise. Other Western camera teams have entered China but we were the first to stay so long in one place as important as Shanghai.

Since we began this report, an attack on Western culture and ideas has begun again in China.

For a moment, the curtain lifted. . . Even as this is being broadcast, it may be falling again.

Today, nearly 11-million people wake up here. . . the biggest city in the biggest country in the world.

China's has been the world's biggest revolution... one that never seems to end. . .one that many Western observers have tried to understand.

We've tried too: eight weeks of filming, months of editing. It's been 25-years since we could make a first-hand report.

We are observers and there are limits to what we can see and hear.

First morning, when the light was good, we could see them. . . and they could see us.

A crowd of two-thousand curious Chinese and we. . . suddenly realizing that the cultural barriers we have been trying to penetrate for four-hundred years still stand.

You might think that once a revolution takes place a country is transformed. A country, or a city, does not change that easily.

The Chinese after all, operate from traditions that go back four-thousand years. They cannot cast off the past completely, no more than we can.

The past and present, the cultural conflicts, the changes. . . they all come together in Shanghai.

What follows are notes and observations on the biggest changes that have ever happened to so many people in so short a time. . . in our words, and theirs.

DRASNIN
ON CAMERA:
(SOF)

What you will see tonight could be any day in the life of Shanghai: 24-hours in the life of a city, 24-years in the life of a revolution.

It was filmed in two months during the summer of 1973. That is the longest stay any American observer has been permitted in this city that once was dominated by foreigners.

For anyone old enough to remember, Shanghai looks much the same as it did a quarter of a century ago. A generation has not changed the face of Shanghai as much as it has changed its soul.

NARRATION:

Shanghai's past reflects the glory not of the Chinese Empire but of the British Empire.

The Chinese would not have built a city this way.

The history of modern Shanghai was written in the logs and ledgers of our great-grandfathers: Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Americans.

What brought them here was a revolution of their making: the industrial revolution.

China became part of an expanding world market and Shanghai its market place. The noble commodities were tea and silk.

The ignoble commodity was opium. Our idea of foreign trade was to sell opium in exchange for the tea and the silk.

It was a trade the Chinese neither wanted nor valued. We fought a war--called the Opium War--to open China to the world in 1842.

It fulfilled the vision of an illiterate Italian merchant named Marco Polo. He had observed seven hundred years ago:

"There pass and repass on these waters a great number of vessels, and more wealth and merchandise than all the rivers and seas of Christendom put together. It seems more like a sea than a river."

This is the way we came for a hundred years, riding the winds and tides of the river . . .bringing soldiers and soldiers of fortune, merchants and missionaries. . .to Shanghai.

The name itself fired the imagination, inspiring tales both romantic and sinister. Everyone knew what it meant to be Shanghaied.

It also inspired dreams of adventure and wealth, which for some came true.

Shanghai was the Paris of the Orient. This was its Champs Elysee. Nanking Road is still its major commercial street.

Not far away, the Americans built a street of their own. . . and called it Broadway.

The spirit of capitalism, not of socialist revolution, built this city and molded its character.

Where there was money and power in 20th century China, it was in Shanghai.

Where there was a bourgeoisie, a middle class, it was in Shanghai.

Unlike any other place in China, you could make your fortune in Shanghai.

Few foreigners ever looked beyond the great wall they had built, into the narrow, winding streets of the other Shanghai. . .the Chinese city.

Shanghai was rich. China was poor. This was part of China.

It was an area the tourist books once advised that foreigners should not enter alone, for fear of getting lost or robbed.

This was the original walled city of Shanghai whose origins have been traced to the State of Wu of the 6th century B.C.

It has been said that in a city, time becomes visible. Time has preserved many things in Shanghai

The solitary craftsman, and the need for his craft, remain. . .in the abacus repair shop.

In the center of the old Chinese city there remains this tourist attraction of the past.

It was known throughout the world as the Willow Pattern Tea House, the pattern on thousands of pieces of china.

What is visible here is a luxury few ordinary Chinese ever knew in the past: a day off. Even a six-day work week provides new leisure.

For older people it means the unheard of benefits of retirement. . . and a pension.

The old China was a man's world. Today, the Chinese like to say, women occupy half the heaven. . .and half the teahouse the Chinese know as the pavilion in the middle of the lake.

Like every other relic of the past in China, what once was for the privileged now is for the people.

Now they can afford the few pennies, and the time spent sipping tea, talking. . . perhaps, listening to their grandchildren sing.

SOF: CHILDREN SINGING

NARRATION: These are the Chinese who remember the past.

SOF: MUSIC BOX

NARRATION: The past is for sale now in Shanghai, on the back shelves of two small second-hand stores. . . for foreigners only.

Once there were 60-thousand foreigners living here. Today, there are only two of them still permanently doing business.

Two civilizations met in Shanghai, the one inscrutable to the other.

SOF: MUSIC BOX

NARRATION: It is the spirit of the past concerns China's leaders today. The relics are more easily disposed of.

It is time to get rid of anything foreign or old that does not serve the new China.

SOF: CUSTOMS HOUSE CLOCK

NARRATION: The chimes of the Customs House clock, made to sound like Big Ben, now play "The East is Red."

The park, once closed to Chinese, is closed now only for repairs.

The British Consulate, which once dominated the waterfront, now is a club for visiting seamen.

The race track, once the center of Shanghai society. . .now is the People's Park.

The American Community Church is now a gymnasium for the People's Army.

The Customs House is still the Customs House, and Shanghai's greatness still depends on the trade that flows past its window.

Once, the inspector-general of customs sat here--one of the most powerful officials in China. . . an Englishman.

Today, China is in business for itself. For the first time, trade with the West is conducted between equals.

In the past, no Chinese symbolized the plight of China more than the coolie.

His cheap labor built Shanghai and did its work, in the factories and foundries, in the mills. . . and on the docks.

The coolie was anonymous: no family, no future, no name.

This man's name is Sung Chi-chuen, 58-years-old... a docker here since he was 21.

You don't have to understand Marx or Lenin or the thought of Mao Tse-tung to understand Sung, the dockworker.

SOF: SUNG INTERVIEW

In the past it was all manual labor, using bamboo poles on our backs. We had to carry as much as 3 or 4-hundred pounds at a time, working as long as 13 or 14 hours a day.

Take a look now. It's becoming more mechanized every day. That is the biggest change, from using our shoulders to using machinery. Another thing, workers now have uniforms, helmets, and leather shoes.

In the past we were called smelly coolies by the gang bosses.

Once, right here at this dock, I was unloading a ship. It was cold but in the toilet it was warmer. I went there to wrap my feet with a piece of burlap. A foreman saw me. You know what he did? He came over to question me and slapped me with the front and back of his hand and made my mouth bleed. I was young then. I wouldn't take that and tried to reason with him. He called two guards

to drag me down to the pier. There, a plainclothesman took me to the railing where he handcuffed me, from ten in the morning straight through to 2 the next morning when I was let go. I was in such physical shape that I collapsed.

In the old society it was hopeless. It was dog eat dog.

NARRATION: There is now an entire generation of Chinese who never knew the past.

This is a children's palace. It is an afternoon playground and training ground for specially-selected students, ages 6 to 16.

It was the mansion of a foreign industrialist. Then it was called the Marble Hall.

In Shanghai, past and present come together . . . in ways that are sometimes unexpected.

SOF: "BILLY BOY"

NARRATION: The question is how much to use of the past without losing the essence of China. . . or of the revolution.

SOF: SEQUE TO PIANO MUSIC

NARRATION: Nine-year-old Wu Mei-lu is practicing a passage from the contemporary Chinese ballet "The Red Detachment of Women."

It is a revolutionary lesson, no matter how traditional it may appear.

SOF: PIANO MUSIC

NARRATION: These children are little red soldiers, so-called because they are advanced students in skills and politics.

They learn by imitating the long march of forty years ago, the Red Army's desperate journey of six-thousand miles. This is their inheritance.

For us, it is a familiar image of China. But from the blend of past and present, something new is emerging here.

Neither revolution nor China is new to our experience. The Chinese revolution is.

Shanghai means on the sea.

We do not think of China as a maritime country, but Chinese invented the compass, the water-tight compartment, the fore and aft sail, and the sternpost rudder.

In the 14th century, China was the most technologically advanced country in the world.

Proud and complacent, by the 20th century the Chinese were left far behind the industrialized West.

Proud, but no longer complacent, the Chinese have been working hard to catch up.

Shanghai today has many ancient ways and modern problems. . . like the traffic jam.

The waterway is the city's most heavily used highway. Rivers, more than roads or railroads, criss-cross China in every direction. . . and Shanghai has always been the most important truck stop.

Everything moves on the river.

There is no energy crisis in Shanghai. Machinery has not yet replaced manpower as the greatest natural resource.

Shanghai is building its own trucks and buses and even passenger cars now, but modern transportation has not overtaken the old.

They co-exist, along with a small fleet of left-over American De Sotos, Fords and Plymouths... for official use only.

If you get run over in the streets, chances are it will be by a bicycle.

There are more than one-million bicycles, and bicycle bells. . . and thousands more attached to carts.

China's problem is to move not just Shanghai but 800-million people from the past to the future.

The Chinese cannot rush head-on into the 20th century. They have to get there in their own way.

Shanghai's primary need was simply to find many of them a place to live.

Just a generation ago, thousands lived and died in the streets.

No one lives in the streets anymore, except to escape the summer heat. There is no escape from the crush of humanity.

Today, Chinese are encouraged to postpone marriage at least until age 25, and then to have no more than two children.

Birth control is now government policy.

There are still places here that look and feel centuries old.

Where for centuries there was nothing but fields, there is something new. . . China's first modern suburb.

About a million people, including several hundred-thousand young people, have been relocated from the inner city to the suburbs and beyond, to the interior.

The government is anxious to spread development and industry. It is learning that modernization has its price.

That inevitable sign of progress, pollution, is not yet a major problem. But China's planners aren't ignoring it. They can't.

There are growing signs of pollution everywhere in Shanghai.

For the first time, the city is facing the urban realities that are well known in the West.

There were other big city problems that Shanghai inherited from the West and solved. They were declared illegal.

One was opium. The opium den was a major commercial enterprise. There were hundreds of them and thousands of addicts.

They made millions of dollars for the Shanghai underworld, for foreigner and Chinese alike.

Shanghai was a wide-open port where fortunes were won and lost . . . and where anything was available for a price.

There were estimated to be between ten and 25-thousand prostitutes.

Shanghai roared too during the 1920's and thirties.

The dope, the gambling, the prostitutes, all have vanished from the streets and back alleys of Shanghai.

It has been reported that crime too has vanished. You don't read or hear about it much but there is crime. . . and prisons for criminals.

The only policemen you see, however, are unarmed traffic cops whose most dangerous assignment appears to be settling street arguments.

What you don't see is the security bureau, plainclothesmen who deal with more serious crime.

Every city must be governed. Here the city government is called the revolutionary committee.

Because this is Shanghai, the committee's importance reaches all the way to Peking.

At least three of Shanghai's leaders have risen to national leadership, including Wang Hung-wen... now ranked behind only Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai.

The revolutionary committee's vice-chairmen are deputy mayors who represent the communist party, the military and civilians.

Hsu Ching-hsien, 38, is also a member of the central committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Feng Kuo-chu, 54, is a planner of economic development.

Kao Chih-jung, 60, commands the Shanghai Naval Garrison.

For the first time, powerful local officials agreed to answer questions, submitted in advance, for television.

The following film is unprecedented. . . Chinese leaders, at ease and with candor, discussing Shanghai's past and future.

SOF: REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE

HSU: We have seen many foreign journalists who after a first-hand look at China find it puzzling. They say they can't understand the Chinese. How can anyone think only of others?

Naturally, the Chinese people have hobbies, everyday problems, families, marriage and . . . well, make love. But we urge that personal considerations be put last in the order of state, collective, and individuals.

The most important task of the Revolutionary Committee is to educate the people. If this is done well, the morality of the society improves. Robbers and thieves still exist, but they are few.

Mr. Drasnin has probably been to many cities in the world. Don't you agree Shanghai has the fewest robbers and thieves?

But I advise you to take care of your pockets when you're walking on the streets. Because in our country class struggle still exists. There is still a handful of people doing evil deeds.

But I can guarantee this, that our youth do not take drugs. Not one.

The younger generation does not know about this. I have asked my children twice, "What is opium? What is a prostitute?" They said, "I don't know." I think it's better to let them know.

FENG: Vice Chairman Hsu just said that the foremost thing is education. Some westerners constantly call this brainwashing. Actually, it means that the people should understand ideology. Our material progress is the result of our ideological work.

We have made tremendous material progress, but our country is still a developing country. Shanghai is also developing. We are backward in many respects so we must continue to work hard.

HSU: The people of Shanghai are just like the people of the rest of China. The old belief is that the more children you have, the luckier you are.

According to the teaching of Chairman Mao, the growth of population should also be planned. But it's not very easy, especially when those who have daughters want to have a son. This cannot be compulsory; we have to educate them to act voluntarily.

KAO: The representatives of the army participate in the work of the Revolutionary Committee. We have a saying that when the army and the people are one, who in the world can match them?

We can also better organize the people to prepare against war. For example, we are digging bomb shelters everywhere. As you can see on the streets, according to the teaching of Chairman Mao, we have been digging deep holes for defense since the 1969 incident on our northern border with Russia. It has always been defensive in nature.

HSU: In case anyone begins to attack us, we think that the workers, the militia and the army of Shanghai all joining forces will be more than strong enough to defend the city.

The whole people is an army. We would not invade others, but if they invade us we are not easily bullied.

Think of New York or Los Angeles organized into ten districts...

Each district into ten street organizations...

Each with another ten lane committees. . .

Each with its own 80 or 90 residents' groups. . .

Think of a city where housing is crowded but cheap, the average rent less than four dollars a month. . .

Where medical care and education are virtually free. . .

Where there is no unemployment and no income tax.

There are no two-car garages either. There are no privately-owned cars.

And there are no washing machines, or freezers, or television sets in any of these homes.

There are no mortgages, or credit cards.

SOF: BELL RINGING

And, it's true, there is almost no dirt.

That roughly is Shanghai today. And this is the way the day begins in this lane, or neighborhood, at dawn every Thursday morning.

The word has come down from district committee, to street committee, to lane committee, to residents' group. . . to carry out this summer's public health campaign.

It is a group activity, and conformity to the group is an old Chinese idea. . . going back at least 25-hundred years.

In a word, Chinese life is organized.

By custom and by circumstance, the Chinese is a conservative. . . an organization man, and woman.

In a country of mass organizations the neighborhood is the smallest in Shanghai. More than 3-thousand families live here, incldding the Wu family of Number 9, Alley 74. Grandmother Wu has lived here practically all her life.

Her day begins early. By sun-up, she is at the neighborhood market that is already crowded with some of the thousands of people who shop here every day.

There is no self-service, no sales,no advertising, no frozen foods. . . and no inflation.

Food costs the same everywhere in Shanghai and almost the same throughout China. Pork costs 50 cents a pound.

Fish, about fifteen cents apiece. Like wages, prices are fixed by the government and they have been stable for twenty years.

Getting fed is a pre-occupation in a country where eating is a national pastime, cooking an art, and starvation a recent memory.

This is Shanghai's inner city, where the Wus were one of five families to whom we were introduced.

Civilizations differ in many ways, but they all come together in the family.

Three generations of the Wu family live here.

Son-in-law, Fan Di-shen, age 35. . .

His son, age four. . .

And his wife, one of the Wu's five children. They share one room.

Grandfather Wu is 70. He is retired on a pension of twenty dollars a month. He has something that is rare in Shanghai, a room to himself.

Like two-thirds of the homes in the lane, there is no bathroom or indoor plumbing. . . except for a cold water tap.

Public toilet and bath facilities are nearby. Privacy is one luxury the Chinese still cannot afford.

By seven o'clock everyone in the house is up, including two other grandsons whose parents work in other cities.

Their breakfast is typical Shanghai: sweet dumplings, porridge and what can best be described as the Chinese version of a donut.

Food, housing, security. From generation to generation, the family had to solve these basic problems for itself.

The government has taken over these problems now. It wants the family mobilized to work on a 20th century problem: modernization.

Since the Russians--the last of the foreigners--left in 1960, the Chinese have been determined to go it alone, if necessary. . . whether as a nation or as a neighborhood.

That means to increase production, everyone who can. . .works.

Grandmother Wu is taking her grandson to a nursery. As in most families, both his parents work.

The lane operates its own small factories. . . owned by the neighborhood, not by the state. Formerly unskilled housewives now make money, for themselves and for local improvements.

At the toy workshop it is tank week. Next week it might be trucks or chickens that lay eggs.

In Shanghai today, almost everyone works. Everyone studies. . .

Marx. . .Lenin. . . and the thought of Mao Tse-turg.

The lane committee is on chapter two of the Communist Manifesto, by Marx.

These housewives are the local leadership, concerned with questions of housing, sanitation, birth control and petty crime.

But there are study groups for everyone. In recent years, the study group has become a nationwide seminar in ideology.

What dominates every meeting in Shanghai is the rhetoric of revolution.

SOF: ENGLISH LESSON

"Chairman Mao and the Wounded Soldier."

NARRATION: Ideology is translated into English now, and broadcast four times a day on Shanghai radio.

A quarter of a million people in Shanghai are learning English this way. These are workers in a food store.

Today's lesson, the Chinese say, is a true story.

SOF: #1 READING STORY

WOMAN: Suddenly the soldier opened his eyes and cried out:

MAN: Chairman Mao, Chairman Mao. Oh, how I wish to see you before I die:

NARRATION: This language program started two years ago. Each chapter is designed to increase vocabulary. . . and political consciousness.

SOF: #2 READING STORY

WOMAN: The soldiers were so excited that they could talk of nothing else for days after this visit. One of them expressed their common feeling when he said:

MAN: Chairman Mao shows deep concern for us all. We'll never forget the day when Chairman Mao came to see us.

NARRATION: We don't know how well the individual Chinese is learning these ideological lessons.

If we did, it would be one way to measure the success of the revolution.

Another, simpler measure is to follow the second and third generations of the Wu family on their day-off.

We can't say for sure what they're thinking. But beyond the organization, the work, and the rhetoric -- there is a different mood in Shanghai on a summer afternoon.

Intimacy can only be captured with a long lens, accompanied by a thousand cicadas.

Today's pastimes might seem tame to a foreigner who remembers Shanghai's past.

Gambling is illegal now, but Shanghai poker is still one of the biggest games in town.

It is played with two decks, jokers high. . . and with great emphasis.

Private life is public. In the hot, humid summer the street becomes the living room. There is no air-conditioning for homes.

If there is friction between neighbors, or between the people and the government, we did not find it here. . .or in our conversation with the Wus' daughter and her husband.

SOF: INTERVIEW WITH FAMILY

MRS. FAN: We like living here with my father and mother. Without my parents it would be very inconvenient. Of course, things are very good now, our son is in a nursery. We don't have to be so restricted. For instance, we can go to meetings at work, even if it's called on short notice; we can concentrate on work without worrying or go to a movie at night, the two of us, if we want.

DRASNIN: All parents everywhere have hopes and dreams for their children. What hopes and dreams do you have for your son?

MR. FAN: We do have hopes for him. I wish he could become an actor, because I myself worked in the field of literature and art, so it might influence him.

SOF: INTERVIEW WITH FAMILY

MRS. FAN: Now he is very fond of movies and plays. When he was smaller I asked him and he said he wanted to be a soldier. He is very healthy, he can also be an athlete. When he is grown I hope he can do what the country needs as well as what he likes.

NARRATION: The grandfather, a retired cook, cooks for the family now. The small living room also serves as family room, study, dining room and as an extension to a small kitchen.

The family pools its income, about ninety dollars a month, a third of which is spent on food.

There is electricity, but no gas. Cooking is done on two coal stoves which are also their only heat in winter.

Ecology is not an issue in Shanghai. Nothing is wasted, not even a drop of peanut oil. . .which along with rice and cotton cloth is rationed.

Our impression in Shanghai was of abundance, not shortages. There is extra food tonight. Another of the Wus' married daughters and her son are coming for dinner.

Traditionally in China, the family came first, the individual second. The country was always a poor third.

Today, the government says: country first, the family second. There has never been much room for individual choice. . . not two-thousand years ago, not now.

An individual can't move or change jobs without permission, or read whatever he chooses.

Now, at least, he can do things he's never been able to do before: a man can retire. . .

a woman can have a place in the community. . . a child can get an education.

The Chinese believe in planning, but if there are limits to freedom. . .there are also limits to planning.

800-million people cannot be forced to be of one mind. The revolution depends on pressure and persuasion and, in the end, on the participation of the people.

The Chinese revolution is not American, French or Russian. It works in different ways, that seem obscure to us.

That has been especially true for the past ten years,since the start of the cultural revolution.

Its recent revival has included attacks on everyone from Confucious to Beethoven to Jonathan Livingston Seagull.

Talking about revolution and seeing ballet may seem strange to us but to the Chinese, it's not.

In the 19th century European form, there were ideological dangers that were another target of the cultural revolution.

As Mao saw it, the bourgeois artistry of Swan Lake could only appeal to a new elite he believed had lost touch with the people and with the revolution.

On stage, Mao has transformed the arts as he would like to transform society.

The man looking on is Lin Yang-yang, one of the choreographers of the Chinese revolutionary ballet, The White Haired Girl.

SOF: LIN INTERVIEW, BEGIN OVER PIROUETTE, THE WHITE HAIRED GIRL.

LIN:

Our ballet reflects the militant life of the Chinese people and molds heroic images of the workers, peasants and soldiers.

To carry out this work we transform classic ballet so that it truly represents a new artistic product of the people.

There's the solo, used mainly to express a very false, very haughty style. We repudiated this kind of individualism.

For instance, when the landlord abducts the White-Haired Girl, her fiance, a young poor peasant, can't contain his feeling for the class enemy. He takes an ax and rushes at the enemy to fight. A solo is used here. He rushes . . . takes the ax to fight the enemy. This solo describes his deep hatred for the enemy and his unlimited love for the people. This gives contemporary ballet its own militant role.

NARRATION: It has been called a cultural revolution because it surfaced as a literary debate in the pages of a Shanghai newspaper.

This paper printed a drama review in 1965, criticizing a play about an emperor who lived 400 years ago.

In the often veiled and allegorical way of Chinese politics, the play had been an attack on Mao Tse-tung.
Mao's counter-attack had to be printed in Shanghai. In Peking, he had lost control of the party machinery.

The cultural revolution was not strictly cultural. It wasn't a struggle for power alone. It wasn't a civil war.

Mostly, it was a war of words over the very nature of Chinese communism and its foreign and domestic policies. . . waged on the walls of China's cities.

One issue was the use of material incentives to solve economic problems. In free markets, private land for peasants and bonuses for workers, Mao saw China being led toward capitalism.

All of China's leaders spoke in the name of Mao Tse-tung but they were saying different things. The leadership was divided.

In a most extraordinary political act, Mao launched an attack on his own party establishment.

It was as if an American president had by-passed his party, his cabinet and Congress and gone directly to the people...led by millions of students, the Red Guards.

We heard the worst: schools closed, industry disrupted, officials denounced, sporadic violence.

We've heard about the cultural revolution but never from any Chinese who experienced it.

Many of them, it turns out, were as confused as we were.

SOF: SUEN INTERVIEW

SUEN: In the beginning, the thought of the Cultural Revolution was a bit frightening. Such a great movement, how do I deal with it by myself? I was afraid. Like having a wolf in front of me and a tiger behind me. So great a movement. Which side do I join? Which side?

NARRATION: Suen Lien-chung was a factory worker who now heads the political section of the Shanghai Diesel Engine Plant.

SOF: SUEN INTERVIEW CONTINUED

SUEN: At our factory, families were divided into two factions: fathers and sons were divided into two factions; sometimes good friends were divided into two factions.